Cayanga:-
Chijaya

/368 cont./

A notable detail is that during the whole day a little khoa burned a few meters from the gathering.

The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the alferesa, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their saya's chapel. Not having been alerted, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the chicha in the 36 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. As usual the Officiant had planned a sacred stick (hamao-pura) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The yatiri, his helper, and two of these present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground; then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with chicha. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian names were mingled with those of the mal'ku, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devotedly. The alferesa and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

The alferesa had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the alasita took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small

Carangas—
Chipaya

/389 cont./

p.996 439 amounts of quinua, cañave, chuño, and sugar with potsherds, many of which were perforated and tied together with a string (Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, so many potsherds giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a [391] given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

p.998 p.996 The Festival of the Estewan, Kemperani, and Cunkirini mal'ku (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ku would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the samiri. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above: The only difference is that instead of being directed to the samiri, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred cones of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Estewan-mal'ku (Pl. XIII, B-D /see p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the worship of the other mal'ku. The alferez of this festival had a sheep killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours [392] later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command before the wall of his hut. He had summoned Anacleto Mullu for this sacrifice.

In Conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose streaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

[393] The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making little bags of offerings and shaping from fat into which black and white meal had been kneaded, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to which is added silver leaf and Parrot Plumules.

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wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[22] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokena*), and kill with their *bolas* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*šiñi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *čarki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña; sahaḷa*, a word obviously related to Aymará *haḷa*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[23] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*oḷičai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[22] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[23] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "brass-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *laksya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'asya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala laksya wari q'asaya, ura ura!*

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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *balsa* (*lkuni*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusi'ia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusi'ia* or *peks* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *kesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts). These are exchanged for *čuñu*, *čoca*, net-thread, *keñowa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesana* and *čowara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organisation. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of **Métraux**:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organisation is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: